District	Amount		Source
	For maiden	For widow	
Kists	18 cows	12 cows	Leontovič, II, p. 118, §§ 18 f.
Dzherakh *	30 cows	20 cows	Leontovič, II, p. 116, §§ 1 f.
Sunsha *	10 cows		Leontovič, II, p. 123, § 1.
Ingushi **	18 cows		Grabovskij, op. cit., p. 20.

* The adat collection actually speaks of rubles and not cows; the approximate value in cows is based on Grabovskij's estimate, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
** In 1864.

Before we pass on to the Lesghian group we wish to mention an interesting form of *kalym*, parallels to which can be found in various parts of the world.[22] We refer to the practice of marrying two deceased persons. Toward the end of the 18th century Potocki observed that "if one Ingush lost a son and another an unmarried daughter, the father of the deceased girl would approach the family of the deceased son and say, 'Your son most likely still doesn't have a wife; I'll give him my daughter, who passed away some time ago, provided that you give me so and so many cows as kalym.' In such a case the father of the dead boy will never refuse."[23] The *kalym* is in such cases generally lower than usual.[24]

When speaking of the Lesghians we must keep in mind that we are dealing with a group strongly influenced by Islamic law, much more so than the rest of the Caucasians. We must also remember that there are local and temporal variations to be taken into account. There are four distinct financial transactions connected with Lesghian marriages: (1) genuine bride purchase, (2) symbolic bride purchase, (3) gifts, (4) the *kebin*, a guarantee against divorce.

Many recent and older authors speak of a "very trivial bride price."[25] Abercromby, for example, reports that the *kalym* of the Avars was no more than two rubles and eighty kopeks.[26] Hahn claims to have found it as low as 25 kopeks.[27] Before Shamyl's time it was supposed to have been possible to "purchase" a wife for a trifle: at Ishal, for instance, for 36 quarts (12 *garncy*) of wheat; in Bahulal it was only one *sab* (about 20 pounds) of grain; in Untsukul it amounted to one ruble.[28] Despite the poverty of the mountaineers, the *kalym* is so insignificant that to classify it under "bride-price" would be incorrect. This is not a case of bride purchase at all, but rather a formality or symbol, which may be at most a *vestige* of actual marriage by purchase.

[22] For the custom among the Chinese see Vanicelli, *La Familia Cinese*, pp. 393—403; among the Germans of the Volga see E. G. Kagarov, "Venčanie pokojnikov u nemcev Povolž'ja," SE, 1936, No. 1, pp. 106 ff. O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*, 1904.
[23] Potocki, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127.
[24] B. Dalgat, "Die alte Religion der Tschetschenen," *Anthropos*, III (1908), p. 737.
[25] For instance, F. Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Byhan, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 178.
[26] *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 101. The "bride-price" was therefore only 5 s. 10 d., less than $ 1.00.
[27] Hahn, "Putešestvie v Kachetiju i Dagestan," SMOMPK, XXXI (1902), p. 93.
[28] A. Runovskij, "Kodeks Šamilja," *Voennyj Sbornik*, XXIII (1862), No. 2, p. 347.